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KHILAFAT IN ISLAM

—The Edi

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Vol. XXXVI AUGUST, 1937 No. 8.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نحمده ونصلي على رسوله الكريم

"KHILAFAT" IN ISLAM

"Of all the institutions of Islam the Caliphate is the oldest, the most fundamental, and in essence the most enduring." This is how in a single brief sentence the writer of the article "Islamic Institutions" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol 12, Page 712) gives an apposite description of the importance of this great Islamic institution.

Khilafat Inseparable from Prophethood

It is difficult to visualize prophethood without its concomitant, the Caliphate. They are so inextricably interconnected that you cannot conceive of one as separate and distinct from the other. The responsibilities of prophethood as described in the Quran are so manifold and onerous that it is impossible for a single person however great he might be morally and spiritually, to fully discharge them and see the consummation of his work in the ordinary brief span of his earthly existence. That great and noble work is completed by the prophet's Successors who are called *Khalifas* in Islamic terminology. The prophet just sows a seed. That tiny seed develops and grows into a mighty tree under whose

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cool shade nations subsequently seek shelter from the consuming heat of sin, under the fostering care of his Successors. The fact that all Prophets of God during the ages have invariably been succeeded by divinely-inspired *Khalifas* needs no further proofs to show that *Khilafat* is an integral part of all religions. Moses, Jesus, Zoroaster and the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of God be upon them) all had their *Khalifas* who carried on and completed their work. Prophethood and *Khilafat* are, therefore, inseparable.

Importance of Khilafat

To adequately understand and realize the importance of *Khilafat* it is necessary to know the responsibilities of Prophethood. These responsibilities are briefly described in the following verse of the Quran:

ربنا وابعث فيهم رسولاً منهم يتلوا عليهم اياتك ويعلمهم الكتاب والحكمة ويزكيهم انك انت العزيز الحكيم۔

> O our Lord! raise up among them an Apostle from among them who may recite Thy signs unto them, and teach them the Book, and Wisdom, and purify them: for Thou art the Mighty, the Wise. (2 : 129).

According to this verse of the Quran the first duty of a prophet is to preach his mission to the people and to invite them to the path of truth and rectitude. That is to say, he calls on people to the acceptance of his claims and teachings and reinforces his preaching by reasons and arguments and by the heavenly signs which God manifests at his hands. His second duty is to train and educate those who have accepted him as God's messenger into the laws and teachings that have been revealed to him. The third great responsibility which God imposes upon him is to teach his followers the significance and inwardness of the ordinances, precepts and the rituals of the religion and his fourth duty which is at once the aim and object of all

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religions is to bring about in his followers a great moral and spiritual transformation with all the resources at his command and to raise them from the lowest depths of moral turpitude to the highest pinnacles of spiritual glory.

Islamic Conception of Khilafat

This is but a very brief outline of the great mission of a prophet and it is obviously not within the power of a human being to fulfil it in a lifetime. It is the work of centuries and of a long line of divinely-inspired persons. This is why every prophet had had his *khalifas* who continued and brought his work to consummation. No mere nominated or elected *khalifa* can accomplish this mighty task unless he be constantly guided and inspired by God in the discharge of his onerous duties. He must be a rightly-guided *khalifa* (خليفہ راشد). The Holy Prophet (peace and blessings of God be upon him) ruled over his people as a divinely-inspired and guided prophet. He led the public prayers; he acted as judge; he controlled the army. On his death a leader was put in his place of similar authority whom the Prophet himself styled as راشد and مہدی (rightly-guided). A president elected even for life exercising an authority as vast as that enjoyed now by the President of the United States of America could not do the work that Abu Bakr did on the death of his great Master. A mere secular head without the promise of divine guidance in the discharge of his duties is not the Islamic conception of a *khalifa*. The following verse of the Holy Quran clearly describes the kind of *khalifas* who, as God has promised, will continue to rise among the Muslims:

وعد الله الذين امنوا منكم وعملوا الصالحات
ليستخلفنهم في الارض كما استخلف الذين من قبلهم
وليمكنن لهم دينهم الذي ارتضى لهم وليبدلنهم من بعد
خوفهم امناً - يعبدوننى لا يشركون بى شيئاً - ومن كفر
بعد ذالك فاولئك هم الفاسقون -

God hath promised to those of you who believe

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and do the things that are right, that He will cause them to succeed others in the land, as He gave succession to those who were before them, and that He will establish for them that religion which He has chosen for them and that after their fear He will give them security in exchange. They shall worship Me; nought shall they join with Me: And whoso, after this, believe not, they will be the transgressors (24 : 55).

A Khalifa cannot be Deposed

This verse embodies a true conception of a Muslim *khalifa*, the spiritual and secular Successor of a prophet of God. It clearly shows that God takes upon Himself the oppointment or selection of *khalifas* and He promises that religion shall strengthen through them and He shall cause security to reign in their dominions in place of fear and towards the end of the verse He discloses a special characteristic of such *khalifas* which is, that though apparently deriving their authority from the people, they will look more to divine guidance and help in all their undertakings than the support they would receive from the people.

Now such a *khalifa* whom God appoints as the spiritual and temporal head of the Muslim State and whom He promises His help and guidance, though elected by the majority of the people is obviously a person whose deposition at a subsequent date in his life is out of the question. You can depose or dismiss, subject to conditions laid down in the traditions, a secular leader whom you have elected as your *Amir* for the transaction of your worldly affairs but to think of a *khalifa* who combines in his person the spiritual and temporal headship of the Muslims that he can ever be deposed is profane and blasphemous. And the Holy Prophet's first four Successors—Hazrat Abu Bakr Hazrat Omar, Hazrat Usman and Hazrat Ali and the two Successors of the Promised Messiah, Hazrat Maulana Noor-ud-Din and Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad fall under this category. Not only that it is foolish to think that a

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person from whom we seek spiritual guidance can ever be deposed but we have clear commandment of the Holy Prophet that the Muslims should follow the example of the rightly-guided *khalifas* and the traditions and precedents set by them. He says :

اوصيكم بتقوى الله والسمع والطاعة وان كان عبداً حبشيا فانه من يعش منكم بعدي فيرى اختلافاً كثيراً فعليكم بسنتي وسنة الخلفاء الراشدين المهديين من بعدي تمسكوا بها وعضوا عليها بالنواجذ اياكم ومحدثات الامور (مشكوة)

"I enjoin upon you the fear of God and submission and obedience even to a Negro slave who is appointed your leader because those who will live after me will see differences and dissensions arising among the Muslims. At such a juncture I charge you with following unswervingly my example and the precedents set by my rightly-guided *khalifas*. Get hold of them firmly and beware of innovations".

Usman Refused to Abdicate

In this *hadith* the Holy Prophet has attached an equal weight to the example set by his *khalifas* to that of his own. The fact that none of the *khalifas* of the Holy Prophet was deposed in spite of an insistent demand made by a section of the Muslims from Hazrat Usman that being unequal to the great task entrusted to him he should abdicate and in spite of the standard of an open revolt that was raised against Hazrat Ali, shows the great dignity and sanctity of the office of *khilafat*. There is a definite saying of the Holy Prophet according to which he had warned Usman against laying down the mantle of *khilafat* with which God would invest him. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said addressing Hazrat Usman :

انه لعل الله يقمصك قميصاً فان ارادوك على خلعه فلا تخلعه لهم (ترمذي)

"In not distant future God will clothe thee with a shirt which some of the people will demand of you to put

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off. I direct thee never to accept their demand and put it off"

Though the election of Hazrat Usman to *khilafat* was made by a sub-committee appointed by Hazrat Umar shortly before his death, this election of the members of the Electoral Committee God attributes to Himself and regards their election as His own election. This tradition of the Prophet lays down a maxim that once a *khalifa* has been elected he can never be deposed. If it had been possible for Ali aud Usman once they had been installed on the *khilafat* to get away from it, we are sure that seeing the appalling dissensions that had risen among the Muslims, they would certainly have abdicated. But they knew that abdication was not possible, deposition unthinkable. Therefore in the face of manifest danger to their lives they held on to their guns till their enemies by murdering them laid an axe at the unity, solidarity and cohesion of Islam and gave it a staggering blow from which it has never fully recovered.

Two Kinds of Khilafat

When a prophet is the spiritual and temporal head of a people, his Succeessor also combines in his person both these capacities but when a prophet enjoys only spiritual suzerainty, his *khalifa* is also the spiritual head of his people. The Holy Prophet was both the spiritual and temporal Head of the Common-wealth of Islam. His Successors, Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali were, also like their Master the spiritual and secular leaders of the Muslims but the Promised Messiah, the Prophet Ahmad of Qadian enjoyed no secular authority, his *khalifa*s, Hazrat Maulvi Noor-ud-Din and Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad are therefore only the spiritual heads of the Ahmadiyya community. But let there remain no ambiguity about it that because a person is only the spiritual head of a people, this fact in no way can detract a whit from his authority and his spiritual eminence. The prophets of God are principally and primarily the spiritual guides of their people. Secular authority is only a later

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appendage which can in no way add to their unquestioned authority nor can its absence lessen it. A prophet of God is a prophet of God whether or not he enjoys temporal authority. Similarly the *khalifa* of a prophet is a full-fledged *khalifa* even if he is only the spiritual leader of his people and possesses no temporal authority. The *Khilafas* of the Prophet Ahmad deserve to be styled as خلفائے راشدین (rightly-guided *khalifas*) and rightly claim to be appointed under the Divine Warrant embodied in the 55th verse of the Chapter entitled *Noor* (Light) of the Holy Quran even though they possess no temporal authority and are merely the moral and spiritual preceptors of their people. Some people seem to think that this verse of the Quran applies only to those *khalifas* who possess temporal power and authority. But this view is evidently in contradiction to reason, traditions of the Holy Prophet and the Quranic text. The Quran and the sayings of the Prophet make no distinction between the *khalifas* who possess temporal power and who do not. If a prophet cannot be regarded as of a lower status simply because of his possessing no temporal power than a prophet who does possess such a power, then how can a purely spiritual *khalifa* be regarded as no *khalifa* or *khalifa* of a lower status than a *khalifa* who possesses wordly power. Temporal power is no more an integral part of the *khilafat* as it is of the prophethood. The Arabic word used in Islamic terminology for the headship of the Muslim State—*khilafat* (Successorship of a prophet) clearly demonstrates that a *khalifa* is less a ruler or a king than a spiritual guide of the Muslims, as the principal and primary function of the prophet—his Chief—is the spiritual guidance of his people. But as Islam does not separate religion from politics, if a prophet happens to combine in his person both the spiritual and temporal headship, his Successor is also bound to do so.

This is in a nut-shell the conception of *Khilafat* in Islam. Though the nature of the duties and responsibilities of a Prophet and a *Khalifa* is the same, the manner of their

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appointment is different. A Prophet is selected and a *Khalifa* elected. But the hand of God works both in the selection and the election, in the former case openly and palpably in the latter mysteriously and imperceptibly. "God best knows whom He should entrust with the great mission of prophethood" says the Holy Quran (اللہ اعلم حیث یجعل رسالتہ). But He causes whom He desires as the *Khalifā* of His prophet to be elected through the agency of the people. This agency of the people works in a manner which requires to be dealt with a little more exhaustively.

Nature and Duties of Sovereignty

In Islamic terminology the Sovereign or *Khalifa* is that representative individual whom the people of a country elect for the protection and supervision of their individual and communal rights. Islam does not acknowledge any form of Government other than a representative Government. The Holy Quran has used the word امانت (trust) in describing the Islamic conception of Government, that is to say, the *Khalifa* exercises the power that is entrusted to him by the people and not the power which is assumed by him of his own will or which is inherited by him as a birth right. This word alone is sufficient to illustrate the nature and powers of an Islamic Government. The Holy Quran does not speak of the right of Government as something proceeding from the Sovereign to the subject, but as something proceeding from the subject to the Sovereign. For a full appreciation, however. of the Islamic conception of the State, it is necessary to quote the verse, which in brief but comprehensive terms describes the nature and duties of Sovereignty. The Holy Quran says :

ان اللہ یامرکم ان تودوا الامانات الی اھلھا واذا حکمتم بین الناس ان تحکموا بالعدل - ان اللہ نعما یعظکم بہ - ان اللہ کان سمیعاً بصیرا

God commands you to entrust the responsibility of government to those worthy of it, and those of you who

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become rulers, should rule justly; God admonishes with that which is excellent, verily He is Hearing, Seeing. (iv : 58).

Rulership is a Trust

In the first part of this verse the people are told that it lies with them to choose their rulers, and that nobody else can appoint a ruler over them, that is to say, Sovereignty is not hereditary and nobody is entitled to become a Sovereign merely because he happens to be the son of a previous Sovereign. Rulership is thus defined as a valuable trust and the people are admonished not to entrust it to a person who is not worthy of the trust, but to place the responsibility on the shoulders of him who would discharge it honestly and faithfully. Then, we are told that Government is not an independent thing in itself, but is a mere delegation of powers for the purpose of enforcing and protecting certain rights which the people cannot individually enforce and protest, owing to the large number of persons concerned. It is, therefore, a trust, and not in the nature of property. The ownership of the rights concerned is vested in the community and not in the Sovereign. Again, the latter is told that the power vested in him is by way of trust and that he must not abuse or misuse it, and must hand it over to the beneficiaries at the time of his death without deterioration or diminution, that is to say, he must be vigilant in the protection of national and individual interests and rights and that he would have no power to surrender or damage any portion of them. Rulers and officials are next told to discharge the respective duties of their offices justly and faithfully. The verse then goes on to indicate that the Muslims would forsake this mode of Government and would, in imitation of other people, revert to the monarchical and hereditary form of Government, but that the admonition of God, *viz.*, that the Muslims should stick to the representative form of Government choosing their best brains to rule over them and to avoid the hereditary system of Government, is the best advice.

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From the above it is clear that the Islamic form of Government must be based on an elective and representative basis, and that the Sovereign is regarded as the representative of the people in their collective and not their individual capacity.

Khalifas Must be Elected

Islam requires the Muslims to elect as their ruler a man whom they regard as best fitted to discharge the responsibilities of that high office. Such a man, when elected, holds office, not for a period of years like the Presidents of the Western Republics but for life, and God alone can remove him from office, *i.e.*, by means of death. In this man is invested all the power and authority of Government, but it is his duty to devote the whole of his life to the promotion of the welfare of his country and not to the seeking of his own aggrandisement. His control over the treasury is limited to the spending of money for national needs and requirements, and he cannot, therefore, fix his own allowance. This must be done by his Advisory Council. It is the duty of the Sovereign to ascertain the views of the people through this Council. On special occasions and with reference to special matters the opinion of the people may be ascertained by means of a general referendum, so that any differences between the opinion of the people and their representatives may come to his knowledge. He is expected to respect the opinion of a majority of the representatives, but as he is above all kinds of political partisanship and has no personal interests to serve, his own opinion is believed to be entirely impartial and influenced only by considerations relating to the welfare of his country and people. Besides being the true representative of his people, Islam promises special Divine Grace and Help to the *Khalifa*.* He is, therefore, authorised under special circumstances and in matters of special importance to over-rule the opinion of the majority of his advisers.

*(Quran 24 : 55).

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Powers and Responsibilities of Khilafat

A *khalifa* is absolute in the sense, that he can, in certain cases, over-ride the opinion of the representatives ; on the other hand, his power is limited in the sense that he has no control over the Islamic constitution by which he is bound, and he can not repeal or over-rule any portion of it. He is bound to take the advice of the people and is bound to preserve the elective character of his own office. He is an elected ruler in the sense that, under the will and guidance of God, he is appointed to his office through the agency of the people, and he is a representative of the people in the sense that he is expected to follow the advice of their representatives except when compelled to differ from it by urgent or extraordinary necessity. He rules by virtue of a Divine Right in the sense that he cannot be removed from his office, and is promised Divine aid in the discharge of his duties and in carrying out of his undertaking.

Is Khilafat Absolute or Democratic ?

These are briefly the duties and responsibilities of a Muslim *Khalifa* and his powers and prerogatives. Some of the points described above require some elucidation to remove possible misunderstanding. The first is : Is a *Khalifa* absolute or democratic ? He is democratic in the sense that he is elected to the *Khilafat* and is bound by the Islamic law to preserve the elective character of this high office. He is also democratic in the sense that he is bound to take the advice of the representatives of the people in the conduct of the affairs of the State. He is democratic too in the sense that he is bound by the law (*Shariyat*) as much as an ordinary Muslim is bound and has not the power to change a jot or tittle of it. The law is there, he is only to carry it out. That not only a *Khalifa* but the Prophet himself was bound to take the advice of the people is evident from the following verses of the Quran. The Holy Quran says :

والذين استجابوا لربهم واقاموا الصلوٰة وامرهم
شورىٰ بينهم ومما رزقناهم ينفقون

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And who hearken to their Lord and observe prayer, and whose affairs are guided by mutual counsel, and who give alms of that with which We have enriched them —(42 : 38).

Again it says :

فاعف عنهم واستغفر لهم و شاورهم في الامر
فاذا عزمت فتوكل على الله

Therefore, forgive and ask for pardon for them and consult them in the affair and when thou hast taken a decision, then put thou thy trust in God, for God loveth those who trust in Him 3 : 158).

Khalifa Bound to Consult People

Hazrat Omar, the second *Khalifa* of the Holy Prophet is reported to have said * لا خلافة الا بالمشورة "There could be no true *Khilafat* unless the *Khalifa* consults the people in all important affairs of the State." So a *Khalifa* is democratic in the sense that he is bound to take counsel with the Muslims but he is absolute in the sense that if he feels that the spiritual and temporal interests of the Muslims demand that he should reject the advice tendered to him, Islam has bestowed upon him that prerogative. The words of the Quran, فاذا عزمت فتوكل على الله (when thou hast taken a decision, then put thou thy trust in God) clearly show that occasions may arise when a *Khalifa* may feel bound, in the interests of Islam and the Muslim State to reject the advice given him by a majority of the representatives of the people and in such emergencies Islam has conferred on him such a power.

He Can Reject Public Advice

It may be suggested that the words فاذا عزمت فتوكل على الله (when thou art resolved, then put thou thy trust in God) apply only to a prophet who being constantly in touch with God is immune from taking any wrong decision

Sirat by Mirza Bashir Ahmad, M,A.

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which may adversely affect the welfare of the Muslim community and that there being a possibility of the majority of the people taking a wrong course, the prophet has got, consistently with reason and common-sense, the right to reject when he thinks fit, such an advice. But a *Khalifa* enjoys no such immunity and therefore he cannot reject the decision of the majority. But such a suggestion is evidently based on a lack of proper realization of the true status of a rightly-guided *Khalifa*. According to the 55th verse of the Quranic Chaper entitled *Noor* (Light) the *Khalifas* of the prophets of God are promised special Divine Grace and Help in the conduct of the affairs of the State. They may not and do not enjoy immunity from the possibility of making a wrong decision to that extent to which God's prophets enjoy it, yet they enjoy it to this extent that they cannot take a line of action which may be permanently detrimental to the interests of Islam and the Muslim community, otherwise the words وليمكنن لهم دينهم الذى ارتضى لهم (and God will establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them) do not mean anything. If the *Khalifa* is expected to respect the opinion of a majority of the representatives of the people in most cases and may reject that opinion in a few cases and in those cases he is liable to tread a path which may lead the Muslim community to destruction, then he cannot be said to be the recipient of Divine Help and Grace which certainly he is, according to the above verse of the Chapter *Noor* (Light). The prerogative of the *Khalifa* that he can reject the opinion of a majority of the representatives of the people when such an unusual procedure is dictated by the religious and temporal interests of the Muslim community has not only remained a mere ideal in Islam. It has been carried into actual effect on several occasions by the Holy Prophet's Successors. The first act of importance that the first *Khalifa* of the Holy Prophet, Hazrat Abu Bakr who occupies a very special place in the affection and respect of the Muslims did, was that he rejected the unanimous request of the most prominent of the Companions of the

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Prophet, Hazrat Omar being one of them. He despatched in utter defiance of the requests and entreaties of the Muslim leaders all the available soldiers he had to the Syrian border under the command of Usama, the famous son of Zaid; at a time when almost the whole of Arabia was in revolt against the authority of the *Khalifa*. We are tempted to give in detail this incident from Muir's, *The Caliphate, Rise, Decline and Fall*, because, it settles in a most convincing manner the disputed fact whether or not a *Khalifa* has the right to reject the opinion of a majority of the people if he thinks it to be in the interests of Islam and the Muslims to do so. Says Muir:

> The day following his inauguration, Abu Bakr took up the banner, and restoring it to Usama in token that he was still commander, bade the army again assemble and encamp at the Jurf as it had done before; not a man was to be left behind. Obeying his command, the fighting men of Medina and its neighbourhood all flocked to the camp, even Omar amongst the number. While yet preparing to depart, the horizon darkened suddenly. Report of the Prophet's illness, soon followed by tidings of his death, had spread like wild-fire over the land. From every side came rumours of disloyalty, and of resolve to cast off the yoke of Islam. *The sense of the army, and of Usama himself was strongly against leaving the city thus defenceless, and the Caliph exposed to risk of sudden danger.* Omar was deputed to represent all this to Abu Bakr, and also to urge (a request which Muhammad already had rejected) that, if the expedition must proceed, a more experienced general should command. To the first request Abu Bakr replied calm and unmoved: "Were the city swarming round with packs of ravening wolves and I left solitary and alone, the force should go; not a word from my Master's lips shall fall to the ground." At the second demand the Caliph's anger kindled: "The mother be bereft of thee, O, son of Al-Khattab! he said, seizing Omar by the beard: "Shall the Prophet of the Lord

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appoint a man to the command and I deposing him, appoint another in his place?" So Omar returned, with neither object gained."

Abu Bakr Set a Right Precedent

It may be said that Abu Bakr overstepped his authority and set a precedent which Muslims are not bound to accept as correct and look upon as an example for other *Khalifas* to follow. But the fact that Abu Bakr took this apparently fatal step at a most critical time in the history of Islam in utter defiance of the unanimous request of the army which included almost all the prominent Companions and its commander was amply justified by subsequent events, indisputably proves that the *Khalifas* of God's prophets never make a mistake in rejecting public advice at momentous occasions. When they take a line of action in defiance of the opinion of the majority of the people their action at such a critical time is inspired by God and so was Abu Bakr's. His bold front struck the Bedouin mind with the stability of his rule. If the leaders at Medina had not been confident of strength at home they would not have sent away their army; and Arabs reasoning thus were restrained from much that they might otherwise have done.

Form of Election

Another point of importance in this connection to which we have already referred in our article but which requires a little more elucidation is whether a *Khalifa* must always be elected in the sense in which the word 'election' is understood in these days or whether the form of election is dictated by the exigencies of the time in which such an election takes place. The Quran is absolutely clear and emphatic on this point that a *Khalifa* must always be elected, it recognises no hereditary *Khilafat*. But election can take different forms at different times and under different circumstances. The form of election of Abu Bakr as *Khalifa* was different from the way in which Omar was made the

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Head of the Muslim State. Similarly the form of election of Usman was also different from that of Hazrat Ali. Before we proceed to explain this apparent discrepancy in the form of election of the first four rightly-guided *Khalifas* (خلفائے راشدین) of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and to show that under this apparent discrepancy there lay a real continuity of tradition and precedent we make it clear that the Muslims are bound by the clear injunctions of the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet to follow the example and precedents set by his chosen Companions and especially those of his first four rightly-guided *Khalifas*. The Quran says :

والسابقون الاولون من المهاجرين والانصار والذين اتبعوهم باحسان رضى الله عنهم ورضوا عنه

"As for those who led the way, the first of the *Muhajirs* and the *Ansars*, and those who have followed their noble conduct, God is well pleased with them, and they with Him" (9 : 100). This Quranic verse which shows that God was pleased not only with the first *Muhajirins* and *Ansars* but also with those who followed them, is reinforced and supported by the *hadith* عليكم بسنتى وسنة الخلفاء الراشدين المهديين (It is obligatory upon you to follow my traditions and those of my rightly-guided *Khalifas*). So if we may not be able to follow in detail the example set by the Prophet's Successors in this important question of the form of election of the *Khalifas*, we cannot say that what they did in this respect was in any manner or form in disagreement with the directions laid down in the Quran in regard to it. They followed the spirit of the Quranic teaching in giving a different form to the election of every *Khalifa* but in manner of detail they had to consider the exigencies of the particular period in which each election was held.

Difference in Form of Election Explained

On the death of the Holy Prophet when there was the possibility of a serious rift taking place in the united

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ranks of the Muslims over the question as to who should be the Prophet's Successor—the Ansars determined to make Sa'd bin Obaida their Chief and the Refugees believing Abu Bakr to be the most suitable person for that exalted office—Omar and Abu Obaida first acclaimed him as the Khalifa followed by a number of the people of the Khazraj tribe. It was on the next day, after the Holy Prophet had been buried that Hazrat Abu Bakr ascended the pulpit in the court of the Prophet's Great Mosque and, "was acknowledged Caliph by acclamation." So we see that the selection by Hazrat Omar and Abu Obaida and the people of Khazraj of Hazrat Abu Bakr as the Successor of the Holy Prophet was turned into an election by all the Muslims voluntarily pledging their troth to him the next day in the Mosque of the Prophet. There was no disagreement nor any dissentient voice raised. Thus Abu Bakr's election may be called an open election.

Omar's Election

Omar's election to the *Khilafat* took a little different form from that of Abu Bakr's. Finding that as the result of a malignant fever his death was near, Abu Bakr consulted Abdur Rahman bin Auf and some other prominent Companions of the Holy Prophet as to the suitability of Omar to be his Successor. Most of the Companions consulted agreed to the nomination of Omar as Abu Bakr's Successor, some of them expressed their disagreement also. Calling for Hazrat Usman, Hazrat Abu Bakr dictated an ordinance appointing Hazrat Omar his Successor and ordered the ordinance to be read to the Muslims who had assembled in the Mosque in anticipation of Hazrat Abu Bakr's fast approaching end. "Then desiring," says Muir "to obtain their assent, the dying Caliph bade his wife Asma raise him to the window (for the Caliph's house looked out upon the Court); so she bore him to the window, from whence, with a great effort he called out: "*Are ye satisfied with him whom I have appointed over you.* None of mine own kin, but Omar, son of Al-Khattab.

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Verily I have done my best to choose the fittest person. Wherefore, ye will obey him loyally." The people answered with one voice, "*Yea, we will obey.*"

The brief address of the dying Caliph to the Muslims and their still briefer but deliberate reply shows that though Hazrat Abu Bakr in consultation with some of the most notable Companions of the Holy Prophet had nominated Hazrat Omar as his successor, he was not satisfied till he saw with his own eyes that his nomination was confirmed by the consensus of Muslim opinion.

An Electoral Committee Appointed

Hazrat Omar took quite an unusual and interesting line of action to help the Muslims to elect their Chief or *Khalifa*. Instead of nominating a single person, he appointed an Electoral Committee to select a proper candidate for the *Khilafat* whose qualified election should be confirmed by the free will of the whole Muslim people, The Electors were Ali, Usman, Zobair, Talha, Sa'd, Abdur Rahman, bin Auf and according to some historians, Abdullah, son of Omar. Abdur Rahman was appointed the President of that sub-committee to announce, after consulting all concerned, to the Muslims the decision of the Electors as to who was elected their Amir and Chief. On the second day, we are told, Abdur Rahman spent the night in visiting the leading citizens and the chief officers from the Provinces (who, having come for the yearly Pilgrimage, had not yet departed,) and in sounding their views. He remained closeted with each of the Electors in turn and then on the third day, because that was the time limit by which at the latest they had to announce their decision, before the vast assembly of the Muslims who had gathered in the Mosque to see who was to be elected as their *Khalifa*, he saluted Usman as Caliph, *and the people followed his example.*

This novel procedure adopted by the Electors also shows that whereas the primary election was made by them through Abdur Rahman, the final decision lay with the entire Muslim community. They were the final Electors

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and Arbitrators. They could if they would set aside Abdur Rahman's choice. But finding that he had made the best selection, they completely agreed with him and signified their assent by tendering their allegiance to Hazrat Usman. Thus we see that in all the three elections, the final say rested with the Muslims. Suggestions or nominations or recommendations were no doubt made to them. That they in all the three cases accepted those nominations or recommendations does not show that anybody could deprive them of their right to elect their own Head or Amir.

Ali's Election

Hazrat Ali's election to Caliphate was quite open and unfettered. He was not nominated as Caliph by the dying *Khalifa* nor had any committee of electors elected him as such. The murder of Usman had shaken the Empire of Islam and the seat of the Caliphate was struck with terror. Nobody was found willing to shoulder the delicate responsibility that the murdered Caliph's successor had to face. As late as the sixth day after the fatal tragedy Hazrat Ali, pressed by the entreaties of the Muslims and perhaps also by the threats of the regicides agreed to be accepted as *Khalifa*. So in Hazrat Ali's case also the principle of election was upheld and acted upon and with Ali ended the rightly-guided *Khalifas* (خلافت راشدہ)

Thus we see that the Muslims never really deviated from the principle laid down in the Quran that it rested with them to choose their rulers and that Islam recognized no hereditary Sovereignty and that the Muslims were not expected to give their allegiance to a person who was appointed their Chief against their will. The manner of election of the various *Khalifas* no doubt changed with the change in the circumstances under which the different elections took place.

Can a Khalifa be Deposed?

'Can a *Khalifa* be deposed', is perhaps the most important of all the questions that concern the institution of

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Khilafat. To this question also we have referred briefly in the earlier part of our article. *Khalifas*, as we have already said, are of three kinds: (1) Spiritual *Khalifas* who possess temporal power also; (2) *Khalifas* who have no such power but are only the spiritual guides and moral preceptors of their people; (3) Temporal Chiefs who become the Heads of the Muslim State because they happen to be the sons of previous Sovereigns.

God's Vicegerents on earth

The *Khalifas* that come under the first two categories are the vicegerents of the prophets whom they succeed. They are the actual and direct representatives of their Masters. For the perpetuation and progress of Islam and the continued observance of its laws and rules there must always be a *Khalifa* of this kind. They are appointed under Divine Warrant through the agency of the people.* The people elect them as their Chiefs, but the election always falls on the best and the noblest of the Muslims. It is to such *Khalifas* that the 55th verse of the Quranic Chapter, *Noor* (Light) refers. It is absurd and preposterous to think that *Khalifas* of this kind can ever abdicate or be deposed. They are the custodians of the Islamic Law. Through them Islam gains strength and power. They are, in a sense, God's representatives on earth. It is impossible to conceive of a true Commonwealth of Islam without them. To think of their abdication or deposition is blasphemous. They are themselves conscious that being appointed under Divine Ordinance, they cannot be deposed nor can they abdicate of their own accord. There had arisen occasions during the regimes of the third and fourth Caliphs of Islam that if it had been possible for them they would certainly

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* عن عائشة قالت قال لی رسول اللہ صلی اللہ و سلم في مرضه لقد هممت او ارده ان ارسل الی ابی بکر و ابنه حتی اکتب کتابا فاعهد ان یتمنی المتمنون و یقول قائل انا اولی ثم قلت یابی اللہ و یدفع المومنون او یدفع اللہ و یابی المومنون۔ (سیرۃ خاتم النبیین)

This *hadith* shows that the Holy Prophet was convinced that whatever happened after his death, Abu Bakr was sure to be elected as his Successor as it was God's decree that he should be so elected.

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have abdicated. But Islam stood in the way of their doing so. They knew that being the actual and direct representatives of the Holy Prophet and his vicegerents nobody dared depose them nor could they abdicate of their own choice. Usman and Ali sealed with their blood the truth of this great principle of Islam. They lost their lives but would not consent to be deposed or agree to abdicate themselves. When Hazrat Usman was told by the insurgents that they would not leave the sceptre in his unworthy hands as being either a knave or a fool he was unfit to rule and demanded his resignation, he replied: "The garment wherewith the Lord hath girded me I will in no wise put off; but any evil ye complain of that I am ready to remedy and if I were to agree to this demand of abdication, there would be no end to such demands of abdication in future on the flimsiest of grounds." † That Hazrat Usman was convinced that he was the rightly-guided *Khalifa* who could never be deposed is evident from the reply he gave to Ashtar which is given in the foot-note and from the address he gave to the people only a few hours before he was actually murdered. "Then turning to the conspirators, he continued,— "Ye are aware that the men of Medina hold you accursed at the mouth of the Prophet, for that ye have risen up against his Caliph and vicegerent wherefore wipe out now your evil deeds

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† فارسل عثمان الی الاشتر فقال ما یرید الناس منی قال واحدة من ثلاث لیس عنها بد۔ قال ما هی قال یخیرونک بین ان تخلع لهم امرهم فتقول هذا امرکم فقلدوه من شئتم واما ان تقتص من نفسک فان ابیت فالقوم قاتلوک۔ قال اما ان اخلع لهم امرهم ما کنت لاخلع سربالا سربلنیه الله فتکون سنة من بعدی کلما کره القوم اماموهم خلعوه واما ان اقتص من نفسی فوالله لقد علمت ان صاحبی بین یدی قد کانا یعاقبان وما یقوی بدنی علی القصاص واما ان تقتلونی فلئن قتلتمونی لا تتحابون بعدی ابدا ولا تصلون بعدی جمیعا ابدا (عقد الفرید صفحه ۸۳)

This quotation shows that Hazrat Usman being God's vicegerent refused to submit to any of the demands of the insurgents. He refused to abdicate and to submit himself to any punishment to which according to the insurgents he had rendered himself liable on account of some imaginary injustices that he had been guilty of and he warned them prophetically that if they killed him, they would lay an axe at the whole solidarity and integrity of Islam and the Muslims would ever remain disunited afterwards.

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by repentance, and by good deeds make atonement for the past." Again, 'Fellow citizens! I have prayed to the Lord for you, that when I am taken, He may set the *Caliphate* aright.' Then he spoke of his previous life, and *how the Lord had made choice of him to be Successor to His Prophet and Commander of the Faithful. And now ye have risen up to slay the Lord's elect'.*"* If there ever was an occasion when a *Khalifa* could resign or abdicate, it was when hard-pressed by the insurgents Hazrat Usman saw that either he should resign or face death. He faced death but remained true to the belief that being God's elect he could not resign or be deposed.

A similar occasion arose when Abu Musa and Amr-bin-Ala's the so-called arbitrators between Hazrat 'Ali and Muavia both deposed Ali. Did Hazrat Ali accept the arbitration and agree to the deposition? No! He knew that he was God's elect and the Prophet's vicegerent and ten thousand such arbitrators could not depose him.† The whole history of

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*Muir's *The Caliphate, Rise, Decline and Fall* pp. 228 and 229.

† Some people who do not attach much importance to the authority of a *Khalifa* or sanctity to his office generally suggest that Ayesha, the Holy Prophet's beloved Consort and his chosen Companions Talha and Zobair either did not tender their allegiance to Hazrat Ali, the fourth *Khalifa* or having tendered it retracted it which shows that the Holy Prophet's Companions did not think much of the *Khilafat* or the *Khalifas*. Ayesha, indeed, did not at first, tender allegiance to Ali and even raised the standatd of revolt against him but subsequently she became convinced of her error and it was by means of a plot of some conspirators that against her will she became involved in hostilities against Hazrat Ali. We quote Muir on his point:

"As they journeyed through the desert, her camel-driver beguiled the tedium of the night by calling out the names of the hills and valleys through which they passed. Approaching a Bedawi settlement, the dogs began to howl,—*The valley of Al-Hau'ab*! cried the guide, Something dreadful which Muhammad had spoken about the barking of the dogs of Al-Hau'ab, flashed across her memory. "Carry me back", she cried and making her camel kneel, she hastily alighted from her litter. "Alas! alas! she continued, for I heard the Prophet say reproaching us, as he sat surrounded by his wives one day: '*O that I knew which amongst you it is at whom the dogs of Al-Hau'ab will bark*? I will not take another step on this ill-omened expedition." They sought to persuade her that the guide had mistaken the name, but

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Islam repels and rejects the idea as absurd and highly wicked that a *Khalifa* could be deposed or asked to abdicate because a few persons happen to take it into their heads that he has ceased to be morally or spiritually fit to be their Chief and ruler.

Hasan's Abdication

A suggestion is sometimes made that Hazrat Hasan, the Holy Prophet's grandson had abdicated in Muavia's favour. But Hasan has never been included among the rightly-guided *Khalifas* (خلفائے راشدین). Corroborated facts of history repudiate the ill-based notion that he was ever elected as a *Khalifa* by the Muslim community. Only the inhabitants of Kufa did homage to him. But Kufa was not the whole of Islam. At best Hasan was the *Khalifa* of the Kufans and so treacherous and fickle-minded were these people that even Hasan himself never believed in their honesty and sincerity. So to call a person who was elected by only a few thousand inhabitants of a single town, especially when that person was never

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she refused to stir and the army halted for a whole day. In despair, they bethought them of a strategem. The following night they raised the cry that Ali was upon them. The greater terror prevailing Aisha hastened to her camel and resumed the march. (*The Caliphate* p. 242).

Similarly we are told that as the result of a conference with Ali Talha and Zubair realized their error in having rebelled against him and were about to make peace with him when the conspirators in his army seeing that if peace was concluded between Ali on one side and Talha and Zubair on the other they would be doomed, in the darkness of the night fall upon Ali's army and thus the fight started. We quote Muir on this point agin.

" Where is this internecine war to stop, said Ali. It is peace and repose that Islam needeth now. Give that, and again the majesty of law shall be set up and the guilty brought to justice." As he spoke, the truth flashed on the minds of Az-Zobair and Talha, and even of Aisha ; and *they returned word that if these were the sentiments of Ali, they were ready to submit.* (italics are ours). After severald ays spent in such negotiations, Ali, glad at the prospect of a bloodless compromise, advanced.....One of the combatants tells us that when the opposing sides came together breast to breast, with a furious shock, the noise was like that of a washerman at riverside, the attitude of the leaders was in marked contrast with the bitter struggle of the ranks. Az-Zobair, half-hearted since his interview with Ali, left the battle-field according to his promise and was killed in an adjoining valley. Talha, disabled by an arrow in the leg was carried into Basra, where he died." (*The Capliphate* p. 249).

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convinced that they were true to him, as *Khalifa* and to style his abdication as the abdication of a *Khalifa* of the Holy Prophet is to strain too much the meaning of the words *Khalifa* and abdication. We think we are justified in giving below from Muir's *The Caliphate* (p. 290), an account of this abdication which clearly shows that Hasan himself never considered himself to be a *Khalifa* in the sense in which the first four *Khalifas* believed that they were:

> When they had committed Ali, we know not where, to his last home, Al-Kufa did homage, as it were by common consent to Al Hasan, his eldest son....It was now Muavia's opportunity for asserting his title to the whole Muslim Empire. Already he was recognised as Caliph throughout Syria and Egypt. Al-Hasan had at his command the army of 40,000 prepared by his father, but he had no stomach for the war. Sending forward his vanguard of 12,000 men, under the brave and faithful Keis, to meet the enemy, he himself followed irresolutely; and with the bulk of his army, rested at Al-Madain amidst the luxurious gardens of the old Persian court. While thus holding back, the report gained currency at Al-Medain that Keis had been defeated and slain. An *emeute* ensued. The troops rose mutinously upon the Caliph. They rushed into his sumptuous pavillion, and plundered the royal tents even to the carpets. A project was set on foot to seize his person, and, by delivering him up to Muavia, thus make favourable terms. The faint-hearted Caliph, alarmed at the outbreak, took refuge in the Palace of the Chosroes, a more congenial residence than the martial camp; and trusting no longer to his fickle and disloyal people, sent letters of submission to Muavia. He agreed to abdicate and retire to Medina, on condition that he should retain the contents of the treasury of Al-Kufa, five million pieces, in addition to the revenues of a Persian district; and that imprecations against his father should drop from the public prayers . . . The people wept at his departure. But Al-Hasan left them without regret. They were a race, he

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said, in whom no trust could be reposed and who had set purpose neither for evil nor for good."

To say in the face of such undisputed facts of history that Hazrat Hasan was ever properly elected and accepted by the Muslims as their *Khalifa* and then to assume on the basis of his abdication that *Khalifas* could abdicate or be deposed is to belie history and the established traditions and precedents of Islam and express injunctions and teachings of the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet.

Revolt Deprecated by the Holy Quran

Leaving aside the spiritual *Khalifas* who are appointed for life and whom God promises His help and guidance in the conduct of their affairs, Islam does not look with favour upon the demand for abdication or deposition by force even of a purely temporal head who by the combination of some favourable circumstances or being the son of a Sovereign happens to come in power. No injustice, no infringement of one's rights, no real or imaginary grievances against even a worldly ruler can, according to Islamic teaching justify the rising of the standard of revolt against him or demanding his abdication. It is only when a ruler resorts to and constantly commits acts of manifest infidelity or breaks the Islamic law that the Muslims are allowed to withhold only their allegiance from him. Even in such an extreme case they are not allowed to revolt or rebel. They must first quit his dominions and then wage war against him and try to depose him. So insistent was the Holy Prophet on the subjects giving their unstinted support and unqualified obedience to their rulers that he would allow revolt or rebellion under no circumstances except the one referred to above. Here are some of his directions in this respect* :—

ستـرون بعدي اثـرة و امـــوراً تنكرونها قـــالـــوا فما تامرنا يا رسول الله قال ادوا اليهم حقهم و سلوا الله حقكم

You will have after me appointed over you leaders who will trample upon your rights and will commit acts

Sirat-i-Khatamannabiyyin by Mirza Bashir Ahmad, M.A.

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which you will dislike and resent. 'Then what do you command us to do," O Prophet of God,' asked his Companions. "Give them their rights and ask of your rights from God."

من خرج عن الطاعة وفارق الجماعة فمات ميتة جاهلية

"He who throws off the allegiance of his Chief and lays the foundation of discord and disunity by going out of the community, if he dies in that state, he dies an un-Islamic death."

عن انس ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال اسمعوا واطيعوا وان استعمل عليكم عبد حبشي -

The Holy Prophet said, "Even if a Negro slave were appointed leader over you, give him your fullest obedience."

The only instance in which Muslims are allowed by the Holy Prophet to demand the abdication of their Chief is embodied in the following *hadith*:

عن عبادة بن الصامت بايعنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على السمع والطاعة في منشطنا ومكرهنا وعسرنا وليسرنا واثرة علينا وعلي الا ننازع الامر اهله الا ان تروا كفرا بواحا عندكم من الله فيه برهان

"Obada bin Samat says: "When taking the oath of fealty to the Holy Prophet we were invariably asked to promise that we would obey our Chief under all conditions and circumstances, good or bad, whether we liked it or no, and whether our rights were respected or infringed, we will not dispute his authority 'save when', the Prophet would say, 'you see that your Chief is resorting to acts of manifest infidelity', that is to say when you are in possession of clear, manifest and indisputable proofs from God that he is disobeying and contradicting a fundamental law of Islam. In that case you are at liberty to dispute his authority and refuse to obey him.'" *

Sirat by Mirza Bashir Ahmad M.A.

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Sayings of the Holy Prophet can easily be multiplied in which he has spoken very strongly against people who disturb the peace and tranquility of a country by withholding their allegiance from their Chiefs and raise the standard of revolt against them. So the idea of the deposition of a *khalifa* is quite foreign to the whole spirit of the teaching of Islam.

An Hadith Explained

A word may be added here as to whether *khilafat* as stated by a section of the *Sunnis* who base their belief on the saying of the Holy Prophet الائمة من قريش *i.e.*, Imams will only be from among the Qureish," is confined to the tribe (the Qureish) to which the Holy Prophet of Islam belonged. Nothing can be more foreign or averse to the concept of Islam as a universal religion than to believe that the leadership of the Muslims shall always remain confined to a particular tribe. Such a belief runs counter to reason and common sense and to the established facts of history also. But what knocks the bottom completely out of this manifestly unfounded idea is its firm rejection by the Quran. The Quran has never attached any importance to the lineage, descent or pedigree of a person. إن أكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم *i.e.*, "the most worthy of honour in the sight of God is the person who fears God most", has always remained the Quranic motto to guide man's conduct. The division of mankind into nations, communities and tribes, according to the Quran, is only the means of distinguishing one from the other. Tribes and communities like individuals are differently named so that they may be distinguished and differentiated from one another and not that a specific tribe enjoys any kind of superiority over other people because of its descent from a great progenitor.*

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* يا ايها الناس انا خلقناكم من ذكر وانثي وجعلناكم شعوباً وقبائل للعارفوا ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم (الحجرات)

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Ibn Khaldun on This Hadith

For the benefit of our readers we quote on this some what vexed question the great Muslim jurist and historian, Ibn Khaldun. He has dealt at length with this condition (that a *khalifa* must necessarily be a Qureish by descent) in his *Muqaddama* (Prolegomena)‡ He points out that when the Islamic Dispensation was given to the world, the tribe of Qureish was the most advanced and most powerful in Arabia ; and in recommending or desiring that the temporal and spiritual guardianship of the Muslims should be confined to a member of his own tribe, the Prophet was thinking of the immediate future rather than of laying down a hard and fast rule of succession. At that time a qualified and capable ruler of Islam could only be found among the Qureish ; hence the recommendation that the Caliph and Imam should be chosen from among them. This view eloquently expressed by one of the most learned Sunni Jurisconsults is universally accepted by the modern doctors (*Mutaakherin*), that subject to the fulfilment of all other conditions the law imposes no tribal or racial restriction on the choice of an Imam. Abu Bakr before his death had nominated Omar his successor in the Vicegerency, and the appointment was accepted by the universality of the people, including the House of the Holy Prophet. Omar died from the effects of a mortal wound inflicted on him by a Christian or a Magian fanatic who considered himself aggrieved by the acts of this great Caliph. To avoid all imputation of favouritism Omar had before his death appointed an electoral committee consisting of six eminent members of the Muslim congregation to choose his successor. The choice fell on Usman, a descendant of Omayya, who was installed as Caliph with the suffrage of the people. On Usman's death Ali was proclaimed Caliph and Imam. With Ali ended what is called by the early Sunni doctors of law and theologians the *khilafat-ul-Kamila*, " the Perfect Caliphate ", for in each case their title to rulership was

* *The Spirit of Islam.*

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perfected by the universal suffrage of the Muslim nation.

The Ahmadiyya Khilafat

We have made it abundantly clear that the concept of Caliphate in Islam is that when a Prophet dies, God chooses, through the agency of the followers of that Prophet the most suitable person among them to be their Chief and *khalifa*. Though the first four Caliphs of the Holy Prophet (peace and the blessings of God be upon him) were properly elected as the Chiefs of the Muslims, the form of the election, however, differing with the change of the circumstances, yet this concept remained in a nebulous state and it was due to this nebulosity perhaps that after Hazrat Ali, the *khilafat* assumed an hereditary form and became transformed from *khilafat* into kingship. During the past 1350 years this concept developed and crystalised till there remained absolutely no ambiguity that election was an indispensable attribute of the *khilafat*. When the Promised Messiah, the Prophet Ahmad of Qadian passed away in 1908, his followers without a single dissentient voice elected Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din, as their *khalifa*. the only representative and Vicegerent of his Master, enjoying the same undisputed and unqualified authority in regard to the transaction of the affairs of the Community as was exercised by the Promised Messiah himself.

Defection of Maulvi Muhammad Ali and Khawja Kamal-ud-Din

The *khilafat* thus became established in its fullest and completest form. Sometime later in the *khilafat* of Hāzrat Maulvi Sahib, a faction led by the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and Maulvi Muhammad Ali, however, raised the question that the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya and not the *khalifa* was the real successor and representative of the Promised Messiah and the final say in regard to the conduct of the affairs of the Community lay with them and not with the *khalifa*. This schism started by

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the above-mentioned two gentlemen helped to still more clarify the position and status of the *khilafat* which the election of Hazrat Maulvi Sahib had already made sufficiently clear that *khalifa* is and must always be elected. Hazrat Maulvi Noor-ud-Din thrashed this vital problem threadbare and he made the Khwaja and Maulvi Muhammad Ali accept and openly declare that the *khalifa* and not *Anjuman* was the sole arbiter of the destinies of the Ahmadiyya Community and his authority in all matters was undisputed and indisputable.

Schism Silenced

The schism was silenced for the time being but Hazrat Maulvi Sahib fearing lest it should raise its head again in future never tired of impressing upon the minds of the Ahmadis, in his talks, discourses and public speeches that the *khalifas* had always been appointed by God through the agency of the people in the past and will continue to be so appointed in future. During the six years of his *khilafat* Hazrat Maulvi Sahib literally on hundreds of occasions declared it in most emphatic and unequivocal terms that he was the true *khalifa* and representative of the Promised Messiah and like his Master was responsible only to God and to no human agency or organization and that nobody had the power to depose him or demand his abdication and therefore when he passed away in 1914, the Ahmadis had so fully taken to heart the lesson that Hazrat Maulvi Sahib had incessantly impressed upon their minds that the whole community with the miserable exception of the leaders and initiators of the schism in the early days of his *khilafat* tendered their unqualified allegiance to Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, the present Head of the Community.

Schism Again Flares up

The schism, as we have said, was only scotched, it was not finally killed. At the time of the accession to *Khilafat* of the

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present Head it again flared up and created a little stir for a time. One of the leaders of the schism in the *Khilafat* of Hazrat Maulvi Noor ud-Din, Maulvi Muhammad Ali with a handful of followers again raised the question that the Promised Messiah being himself a *Khalifa* of the Holy Prophet and not a Prophet, there could be no *Khalifas* after him and the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya was the real representative and successor of the Promised Messiah. When faced with the question that by accepting and styling Hazrat Maulvi Sahib as *Khalifa* for six years they had given the lie to this baseless and mischievous notion they would brazen-facedly reply that they had tendered their allegiance to Hazrat Maulvi Sahib not as a *Khalifa* but as a saint and that their practice being at variance with the teachings of the Promised Messiah they could not consider themselves bound by what they did, under duress, in the time of Hazrat Maulvi Noor-ud-Din. *Al-wasiyyat*, the Promised Messiah's testament, they said, was their sole guide and in *Al-wassiyat* the Promised Messiah had before departing this life, reposed the whole authority for the carrying on of the affairs of the Community in Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya and in no *Khalifa*.

Whether the Promised Messiah was a prophet of God or not and whether he was to be succeeded by *Khalifas* who would be his Vicegerents in the sense in which Hazrat Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali were the Vicegerents of the Holy Prophet and whether the Promised Messiah declared the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya to be the repository of the whole authority in regard to the affairs of the Community are questions which have been so fully and minutely discussed and explained during the past quarter of a century that there seems no possibility of the Ahmadiyya Community ever again misunderstanding them. But as the Seceders cry out in season and out of season that there is no mention of any *Khilafat* in *Al-wasiyyat* in the sense in which the overwhelming majority of the Ahmadis believe it to be, we crave the indulgence of our readers for giving a somewhat long quotation from *Al-wasiyyat* itself to show

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that the Promised Messiah was convinced that he would be succeeded by a *Khalifa* after his death as the Holy Prophet was succeeded by Hazrat Abu Bakr.

He says :

> God demonstrates His Power and Majesty in two ways: (1) Through the instrumentality of His Apostles He shows to the world how powerful He is (2) At the time of the death of a prophet when his followers are beset with dangers on all sides and his enemies acquire a new strength and believe and are convinced that the whole business will go to pieces and the prophet's followers will meet destruction at their hands and the followers of the prophet themselves become completely bewildered and distracted and their backs are broken and some unfortunate persons from among them seek refuge in apostasy—when matters come to such a pass then God for the second time reveals to the world the powerful hand of His Might and Majesty and gives strength and steadiness to a faltering people. So he only that waits patiently to the end witnesses this great miracle of God. It so happened in the time of Abu Bakr when the Prophet's death was considered to be untimely and some foolish Bedouins reverted to heathenism and the Companions of the Holy Prophet themselves, became in the intensity of their grief, like men gone out of their senses, then God appointing Abu Bakr to be the Prophet's Successor gave a second demonstration of His power and saved Islam from going to pieces and fulfilled His promise embodied in the verse
>
> وليمكنن لهم دينهم الذى ارتضى لهم وليبدلنهم من بعد خوفهم امنا
>
> *i.e.* We will give them steadiness after fear would have overwhelmed them." (24 : 55). The same thing happened in the time of Moses when he met his death on the way to Egypt and Kinaan before he had safely taken the Israelites to their destination in fulfilment of God's pledged word and Moses' death overwhelmed them with

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great grief and according to Torah on account of this inopportune death and quite unexpected separation from Moses the Israelites gave themselves up to weeping and wailing for 40 days. Similar was the case with Jesus when on account of his crucifixion his disciples became dispersed and one of them even apostatised.

So my friends, when it is an old and established divine law that God demonstrates to the world His power twice that He may destroy two vain joys of His enemies, it is impossible that He should now give up His old custom. So be not grieved and let not your hearts become distracted and dejected for what I have said unto you because, it is necessary that you should witness God's second Manifestation and its coming is better for you because it is everlasting and will continue till the end of time and that second Manifestation cannot take place unless I go. But when I go then God will cause that Manifestation to take place for you which will remain with you for ever. (*Al-wassiyyat*).

The meaning of this quotation is quite clear. The Promised Messiah had no doubts that just as God manifested Himself for a second time in the person of Abu Bakr and Islam gained a new strength through him after the whole Muslim community had become terribly shaken at the time of the death of the Holy Prophet, so after his death God will raise a man like Abu Bakr, through whom the faith of many a faltering and hesitating Ahmadi will become refreshed and strengthened. If this is not the meaning of this quotation it has no meaning at all. After the death of the Promised Messiah God raised Hazrat Maulvi Noor-ud-Din and in him the internal and external enemies of Ahmadiyyat found the grave of their evil intentions and machinations.

The Present Khalifa

Though at the time of the accession to *Khilafat* of the present Head of the Ahmadiyya Community the Seceders went out of the Community, they seemed to have left behind

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them some of their prototypes who after an interval of some years continue to raise their heads in some form or another. We are perfectly convinced that the one lesson which the Ahmadiyya Community will never forget is that the *Khalifas* are appointed by God through the agency of the people, that they are the vicegerents and representatives of the prophets they succeed, that they are responsible only to God and hold their office for life and can never be deposed and that their authority is indivisible and unchallengable. But in view of the mischief that has recently been set on foot by Sheikh Abdur Rahman Misri and one or two other persons who after giving unqualified allegiance to the present *Khalifa* and looking upon him as their spiritual guide and preceptor for about a quarter of a century have now taken into their heads to defy him and try to seek his deposition, we think it is in the fitness of things that a word be said here while dealing with the question of *Khilafat* with a special reference to the *Khilafat* of the present Head of the Ahmadiyya Community, Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad.

Being elected by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Ahmadiyya Community who were present at Qadian at the time of the death of the first *Khalifa* of the Promised Messiah, he is a full-fledged *Khalifa* and therefore enjoys all those rights and prerogatives of the *Khilafat* as were exercised by the first four *Khalifas* of the Holy Prophet and the first Successor of the Promised Messiah. But he is possessed of a distinction which neither of them, at least not so clearly, possesses. He is the Promised Son and the Promised *Khalifa* of his blessed Father, the Prophet Ahmad.

A study of the sayings of the Holy Prophet shows that at one time or another he made veiled hints that Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali would succeed him as his *Khalifas*. There are to be found hints in the writings of the Promised Messiah also which point to the *Khilafat* of Hazrat Maulvi Noor-ud-Din. But these sayings and writings, at best, contained mere hints which seemed to embody prophecies about the *Khilafat* of these holy persons which the people came to

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understand and realize after the event of their being elected to the *Khilafat* had actually taken place. It was years after they were installed to the exalted office that some intelligent people interpreted those veiled hints as embodying prophecies about their *Khilafat*. But the writings of the Promised Messiah in which mention has been made about the *Khilafat* of Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad did not contain mere veiled and ambiguous hints about the great event which took place on the 14th of March, 1914, but emphatic and unequivocal prophecies couched in clear, definite, spoken words of God. The words of the divine revelations containing those prophecies are so unambiguous and unmistakable that they need no interpretation. The revelations speak of the birth of a great son to the Promised Messiah who was to succeed him as his Second *Khalifa*, who was to be like him in physical beauty and spiritual eminence and who was to become famous unto corners of the earth and was to have been gifted with extraordinary powers of action and intellect. We give below some of those revelations which unmistakably show that if there ever had been rightly-guided *Khalifas* (خلفائے راشدین), the present Head of the Ahmadiyya community, Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad is surely one of them and blessed indeed is that community whose destinies he guides.

Some Prophecies About His Spiritual Eminence

1. He will be accompanied with *fazl* (Grace of God) which will come along with him. He will be possessed of splendour, greatness and riches. He will come into the world and with his healing power and the Spirit of Truth will cleanse many of their diseases. He is the Word of God since His Mercy and Jealousy have sent him from the Word of His Dignity. He will be extremely intelligent and sagacious and tender of heart and will be filled with secular and spiritual sciences and will make three into four. It is Monday, the blessed Monday, Son dear and of high dignity; the manifestation of the First and the Last, the manifestation of Truth and Eminence as if God Himself has descended from heaven,

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whose descent will be very blessed and will be the means of the manifestation of God's Majesty. Light is coming, Light which God has anointed with the perfume of His Pleasure. We will put Our Spirit in him and God's Shadow will be upon his head. He will make rapid progress and will give freedom to those in chains and will become famous unto the corners of the earth and nations will receive blessings from him. Then will he be taken to his native abode in heaven and this is a fore-ordained fact.†

2. A second Bashir will be given unto thee, who will be also known as Mahmud. He will be of high resolve and will be like unto thee in physical beauty and spiritual excellence. God is All Powerful; He creates as He likes.‡

3. And my first son who is living and whose name is Mahmud, was not yet born when I was told of his birth in a vision and I saw his name Mahmud written on the

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† اسکے ساتھ فضل ہے جو اسکے آنے کے ساتھ آئیگا۔ وہ صاحب شکوہ اور عظمت اور دولت ہوگا۔ وہ دنیا میں آئیگا اور اپنے مسیحی نفس اور روح الحق کی برکت سے بہتوں کو بیماریوں سے صاف کریگا۔ وہ کلمۃ اللہ ہے کیونکہ خدا کی رحمت اور غیوری نے اسے کلمۂ تمجید سے بھیجا ہے۔ وہ سخت ذہین و فہیم ہوگا اور دل کا حلیم۔ اور علوم ظاہری اور باطنی سے پر کیا جائیگا۔ اور وہ تین کو چار کرنے والا ہوگا۔ وہ شنبہ ہے مبارک وہ شنبہ۔ فرزند دلبند گرامی ارجمند مظہر الاول والاخر۔ مظہر الحق والعلاء کان اللہ نزل من اسماء۔ جس کا نزول بہت مبارک اور جلال الٰہی کے ظہور کا موجب ہوگا نور آتا ہے نور جسکو خدا نے اپنی رضامندی کے عطر سے ممسوح کیا۔ ہم اس میں اپنی روح ڈالینگے۔ اور خدا کا سایہ اسکے سر پر ہوگا۔ وہ جلد جلد بڑھیگا۔ اور اسیروں کی رستگاری کا موجب ہوگا۔ اور زمین کے کناروں تک شہرت پائیگا۔ اور قومیں اس سے برکت پائینگی۔ تب اپنے نفسی نقطہ آسمان کی طرف اٹھایا جائیگا۔ وکان امراً مقضیا اشتہار ۲۰ فروری ۱۸۸۶ء۔

‡ ایک دوسرا بشیر دیا جائیگا۔ جس کا نام محمود ہوگا۔ وہ اولو العزم ہوگا اور حسن و احسان میں تیرا نظیر ہوگا۔ وہ قادر ہے جس طور سے چاہتا ہے پیدا کرتا ہے اشتہار مورخہ ۱۴ جنوری ۱۸۸۹ء۔

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wall of a mosque.*

4. So in the revealed writing the Promised Reformer was named as *Fazl* and his second name is Mahmud and he is also called Bashir II and in one of the revelations his name was given as Fazl-i-Omar.†

5. There are two important means by which God causes His mercy and spiritual blessings to descend upon mankind: (1) By sending down a calamity, grief or misfortune He causes the gates of His Forgiveness and Mercy to open upon those who patiently put up with them as says the Quran:

وبشر الصابرين الذين اذا اصابتهم مصيبة قالوا انا لله وانا اليه راجعون اولئك عليهم صلوات من ربهم ورحمة واولئك هم المهتدون

i.e., this is our unalterable law that We afflict the believers with a variety of calamities and Our Mercy descends on, and the avenues of progress are opened to, those who persevere patiently.

The second means for the descent of Divine Mercy is that Prophets, Apostles, Imams, Saints or *Khalifas* are caused to appear so that people should adopt the right path by following in their footsteps and should win salvation by copying their example. And God so willed that both these means should come into being through the progeny of this humble servant of His. Hence God sent Bashir I so that he may be the cause of the descent of the first kind of Mercy and so that (by his death) by giving the believers an opportunity to con-

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* میرا پہلا لڑکا جو زندہ موجود ہے۔ جس کا نام محمود ہے۔ ابھی وہ پیدا نہیں ہوا تھا۔ جو مجھے کشفی طور پر اس کے پیدا ہونے کی خبر دی گئی۔ اور میں نے مسجد کی دیوار پر اس کا نام لکھا ہوا یہ پایا۔ کہ محمود۔

† مصلح موعود کا نام الہامی عبارت میں فضل رکھا گیا اور نیز دوسرا نام اس کا محمود اور تیسرا نام بشیر ثانی بھی ہے اور ایک الہام میں اس کا نام فضل عمر ظاہر کیا گیا ہے سبز اشتہار صفحہ ۲۱۔

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form to the high standard of patience embodied in the Quranic words بشر الصابرين (Give glad tidings to those who are patient) should also give a proof of his humanity. And for the completion of the second kind of Mercy to which we have referred above God will send a second Bashir about whose birth the hand-bill, published before the death of Bashir I on July 10, 1888 contained a prophecy and God had revealed to this humble servant of His that "a Bashir will be given unto thee who will also be called Mahmud and who will prove himself to be of high resolve in his undertakings, God creates as He likes."*

We are tempted to give here a couplet of the Promised Messiah which speaks of the spiritual eminence of a son of his. He says:

بشارت دی کہ اک بیٹا ھے تیرا
جو ھوگا ایک دن محبوب میرا
کرونگا دور اس ماہ سے اندھیرا
دکھاؤنگا کہ اک عالم کو پھیرا

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* خدا تعلی کي انزال رحمت اور روحاني برکت بخشنے کے لئے بڑے عظیم الشان دو طریقے ھین:-
اول یہ کہ کوئی مصیبت اور غمو اندوہ نازل کرکے صبر کرنے والوں پر بخشش اور رحمت کے دروازے کھولے۔ جیسا کہ اس نے خود فرمایا ھے۔ و بشر الصابرین الذین اذا اصابتھم مصیبۃ قالوا انا للہ و انا الیہ راجعون اولئک علیھم صلوات من ربھم و رحمۃ و اولئک ھم المھتدون۔ یعنی ھمارا یہی قانون قدرت ھے۔ کہ ھم مومنون پر طرح طرح کی مصیبتین نازل کرتے ھین۔ اور صبر کرنے والون پر ھماری رحمت نازل ھوتی ھے اور کامیابی کی راھین ان پر کھولی جاتی ھیں۔ جو صبر کرتے ھیں۔

دوسرا طریق انزال رحمت کا ارسال مرسلین و نبیین وائمہ اولیاء و خلفاء ھے تا ان کی اقتداء و ھدایت سے لوگ راہ راست پر آجائین اور ان کے نمونہ پر اپنے تئین بنا کر نجات پا جائیں۔ سو خدا تعالی نے چاھا کہ اس عاجز کی اولاد کے ذریعہ سے یہ دونوں شق ظہور مین آجائین۔
پس اول اس نے قسم اول کے انزال رحمت کیلئے بشیر کو بھیجا۔ تا بشر الصابرین کا سامان مومنون کے لئے تیار کرکے اپنی بشریت کا مفہوم پورا کرے.....اور دوسری قسم رحمت کی جو ابھی ھم نے بیان کی ھے۔ اسکی تکمیل کے لئے خدا تعالی دوسرا بشیر بھیجے گا جیسا کہ بشیر اول کی موت سے پہلے ۲۰ جولائی ۱۸۸۸ کے اشتہار مین اس کے بارے مین پیشگوئی کي گئی ھے۔ اور خدا تعالی نے اس عاجز پر ظاھر کیا کہ ایک دوسرا بشیر تمہین دیا جائیگا جسکا نام محمود بھی ھے۔ وہ اپنے کامون مین اوالعزم ھوگا۔ یخلق اللہ مایشاء۔ سبز اشتہار صفحہ ۱۹—۱۷۔

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Glad tidings He gave me " that a son of thine,
Shall one day become a beloved of Mine
Through that Moon shall I dissipate darkness
And a world shall be attracted to the Spirit Divine "

So numerous, overwhelming and unmistakable are the prophecies of the Promised Messiah that the present Head of the Ahmadiyya community is his Promissed Son and his divinely-appointed Successor and *khalifa* and that he has been endowed in an extraordinary degree with the qualities of head and heart and is so eminently fitted to guide the destinies of the Community that it is not possible to deny him without belying the Promised Messiah himself. If the Promised Messiah was a Messenger of God and there is no doubt about it that he was, then most surely Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad is his Successor and *khalifa*.

A Summary of the Islamic Khilafat, Spiritual and Secular

Before we take leave of this important subject we just give a few lines containing a bird's-eye-view of the whole *khilafat*, spiritual and secular in Islam. After the death of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) Hazrat Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman, and Ali followed him as his *khalifas*, one after the other. They came to be known as the rightly-guided *khalifas* (خلفائے راشدین) whose example and the precedents set by them have been regarded by almost the whole world of Islam during the past 1350 years as worthy of imitation and copying. On Hazrat Ali's death, Muavia obtained an assignment of the Caliphate from Hasan and received the suffrage of the people of Syria to his assumption of the high office. This happened in 661 A.C.

Muavia, the first Caliph of the House of Omayya was followed by Merwan, Abdul Malik and Walid and many others. Under Walid the Muslim world attained its widest expansion; it extended from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and from the Tagus to the sands of the Sahara and the confines of Abyssinia. In 749 A.C., Abul Abbas, surnamed Saffah, overthrew the Omayyad dynasty and was installed as Caliph, in place of Merwan II, the last Pontiff of that House. Abul Abbas' first six successors were men of remarkable ability; those who followed were of varying capacity, but a few possessed uncommon talent. Mansur founded Baghdad and named it as *Dar-us-Salam*. Here the

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house of Abbas exercised undisputed temporal authority for centuries. Their great rivals of Cairo became extinct in Salah-ud-Dins' time; the brilliant Ommayyad dynasty of Cordova disappeared in the first decade of the eleventh century. The Abbaside Caliphate lasted for five centuries and saw its destruction at the hands of Halaku Khan in 1258 and for two years the world of Islam remained without a symbol of its unity. In 1260 Abul Kasim Ahmad, a member of the House of Abbas who had succeeded in making his escape from the massacre by the Mongols was invited by the Mameluk Sultan Baibars to Cairo for installation in the pontifical seat. The Abbaside Caliphate thus had a new lease of life of 250 years in Cairo where the real power was in the hands of the Mameluk Sultans, the Caliph only nominally invested each Sultan with the power to rule who professed to exercise the authority as the lieutenant and delegate of the Pontiff.

About the end of the fifteenth century Sultan Selim I of Turkey being invited by a section of the Egyptians to restore order and peace in the distracted country, easily overthrew the incompetent Mamelukes and incorporated Egypt with his already vast dominions and the nominal Caliph Al-Mutawakkil ala-Allah by a formal deed of assignment, transferred the Caliphate to the Ottoman conqueror and made the *bait* on the hand of the Sultan and henceforward the Caliphate became the heritage of the House of Othman till it was completely overthrown by Mustafa Kamal Pasha in 1923.*

Let us repeat what we have said above that the real and true Successorship (*khilafat*) of the Holy Prophet ended with Hazrat Ali and from Muavia the foundations of an hereditary kighship, a principle to which Islam lends no support or countenance whatsoever, were laid. The temporal soverigns who began with Muavia were called *khalifas* for lack of any other proper nomenclature for such soverigns. With the advent of the Promised Messiah a new spiritual order came into being and his Successors possessing no temporal authority became the spiritual heads of the entire Muslim world. There is only one *khalifa* of the Holy Prophet in the world to-day and he is Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, the present Head of the Ahmadiyya Community. To call any other person now by the name of *khalifa* is to defy God and His Prophet (peace be upon him).

* *Spirit of Islam.*

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The Ahmadiyya Movement

THE Ahmadiyya Movement was founded by Hazrat Ahmad, the Promised Messiah and Mehdi and the expected Messenger of all nations. In the spirit and power of all the earlier prophets he came to serve and reinterpret the final and eternal teachings laid down by God in the Holy Quran. The Movement therefore represents the true and real Islam and seeks to uplift humanity and establish peace throughout the world. Hazrat Ahmad died in 1908, and the present Head of the Movement is his second successor, Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, under whose direction the Movement has established Missions in many parts of the world, the following being the addresses of some of them:

(1) THE LONDON MOSQUE, 63, Melrose Road,
Southfields, London, S. W. 18, England.

(2) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT IN ISLAM,
56 E, Congress St., Suite 1307,
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America.

(3) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,
P. O. Box 39, Salt Pond,
Gold Coast, West Africa.

(4) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,
Rose Hill, Mauritius.

(5) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,
P. O. Box 727, Lagos,
Nigeria, W. Africa.

(6) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,
Box No. 305, G. P. O.
Perth, W. Australia.

(7) THE CENTRAL (E.A.) AHMADIYYA
MUSLIM ASSOCIATION,
P. O. Box No. 554, Narobi
(Kenya Colony).

(8) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,
Mount Carmel, Haifa, Palestine.

(9) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,
Defensielijn V/d Bosch, No. 139, Batavia Centrum, Java.

(10) THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,
Padang—(Sumatra).

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